

THE LINEAGE SYSTEM

619 At a cursory glance, I gathered that conditions were elsewhere
565 the same in western Nuerland, except, perhaps, among the
554 Jikany where the status of *diel* may be more enhanced. Among
the Eastern Jikany one finds the greatest insistence on social
differentiation and legal privilege. The category of *diel* tends to
be more stressed in the larger tribes than in the smaller, and
when its structural function has been examined it will be under-
stood why this is so.

613 In a Nuer village or cattle camp there are seldom more than
621 a few families of *diel*. Most people are either *rwil*, Nuer of other
563 clans, or *jaawg*, persons of Dinka descent who have not been
565 adopted into Nuer lineages. A *rwil* is a Nuer who in a certain
tribe is not a *diel*, though he may be a *diel* in another tribe. I have
already described how lineages split off from their localised
kinship groups, wander, join persons of other clans, and become
members of a new community. This process was well described
to me by a man of the Dok tribe. Members of a lineage beget
children and they become numerous and spread over the country-
side, wandering here, there, and everywhere. Then their close
relationship ends and they go to live in the midst of other clans
who are distantly related to them. Here they dwell as friends
and slowly forge new cognatic relationships by intermarriage.
Hence lineages are much mixed in all local communities.

613 Also Nuer say that no *diel* dwells in a social milieu composed
565 entirely of fellow aristocrats, for lineages of *diel* split up and
554 segments seek autonomy by becoming the nuclei of new social
agglomerations in which they are the aristocratic element. Thus
lineages of *diel* split up not only on account of internal dissension,
but because a man of personality likes to found his independent
settlement where he will be an important person rather than
remain a younger brother in a group of influential elder relatives.
I was told that this process by which any man, especially a *diel*,
could become a local leader is felt to be ingrained in their social
system and is a reason why they object to the creation by the
Government of a few local 'chiefs' whose position tends to
become formalized, permanent, and hereditary. To them this
is a rigid interpretation of status, based on territorial rather
than personal qualifications, which stabilizes the superiority
of a single man or lineage. Every man of standing feels that

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554 he should be a 'chief'. It does not follow that a man must be an aristocrat to gain influence among his fellow villagers. He may be a *di* of some other lineage than the dominant one of his tribe who, by outstanding character, has been able to establish himself and his kin as social leaders in his locality.

There is thus in every tribe some differentiation of status, but the people so differentiated do not constitute classes, and 'strangers' and 'Dinka' are properly to be regarded as categories rather than as groups. Their relation to the aristocrats in the tribal system and the ways in which the different elements are integrated into communities will engage our attention in later sections.

VII

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• 563 It is only in assessment of blood-cattle that social differentiation between aristocrats and Nuer strangers is of great significance, and then only among the Jikany tribes, principally among the Eastern Jikany. Among the Eastern Jikany the kinsmen of a *di*, aristocrat, who was killed had to be compensated by payment of more cattle than the kinsmen of a slain *ra*, stranger, or *jaang*, Dinka. It is not easy to know to what extent this privilege could be enforced, or even to discover the relative assessments of blood-cattle. There was undoubtedly considerable elasticity in reckoning who counted as equivalent to a *di* in situations of homicide and variation in the number of cattle paid for homicide. It was asserted by several informants that in pre-government days a true Nuer, called in the Jikany tribes a *gai Gaska*, counted the same as a *di* Jikany for purposes of assessing blood-cattle, and I was given the following blood-cattle assessments: a Jikany aristocrat, 40, a Nuer stranger, 40, a Dinka adopted by a Jikany aristocrat, 20, a Dinka who had been adopted by a Nuer stranger, 20, and an unadopted Dinka, 6. In more recent practice the following payments seem to have been regarded as usual: a Jikany aristocrat, 20, a Nuer stranger, 17, a Dinka who has settled permanently in the country, 16, a Dinka who has not been long settled, 10.

I was not long enough among the Eastern Jikany to investigate this matter thoroughly, but I received the impression that the second list was coloured in its variation of assessment, as it was certainly influenced in amounts of assessment, by recent Government decisions; though the informants who gave it insisted that it was in proportion to the ancient assessments. Aristocrats assured me that in the past more cattle were always paid for the homicide of an aristocrat than for that of a Nuer stranger. Members

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565 of Nuer class, other than the CAATGANKIER, who have settled in
628 Jikany tribes equally assured me that the payments were the
681 same for both. No doubt they were both hoping to influence
● 563 Government practice by their statements. On the whole, I consider
that among the Eastern Jikany there was probably a difference
between payments for homicide of an aristocrat and of a stranger,
but that there was much flexibility in the assessments, which
depended generally on the special circumstances of each case: the
length of the dead man's residence in the country, marriage
alliances between his family and aristocratic lineages, the strength
of his lineage and local community, whether he had been killed by
a member of his village or by a man of another village, and so forth.
Probably the same is true of the Western Jikany tribes, where I
was told that the customary compensation for an aristocrat was
from 40 to 50 head of cattle, for a stranger or Dinka who had settled
in the country, 30, and for a Dinka who was staying there but had
not yet built a homestead, 20. The practice of the Jikany is not
typical of Nuerland as a whole.

Nevertheless, all over Nuerland Nuer and Dinka were differen-
tiated by assessment of their value in blood-cattle, though the
definition of a Dinka, in this respect, varied in different tribes.
Among the Lou the practice was to reckon aristocrats and
strangers together at 40 head of cattle. A Dinka who was born
in Lou country was said to have become a Nuer (*cas nath*) and
a member of the community in which he was living (*cas ran wec*),
so that his life also was assessed at 40 head of cattle. On the
other hand, a Dinka who had been captured in war and brought
to Lou country was reckoned at 16 head of cattle, while a Dinka
visiting relatives or affines in Lou country was reckoned at
only 6 head of cattle. I was told that a Dinka who had been
adopted held an inferior position in this respect to that held by
his children, who counted as true Nuer. In the Jagei tribes
Nuer strangers and Dinka who were permanent members of a
community appear to have been reckoned at 40 head of cattle,
like an aristocrat, while a stranger or a Dinka who had not
built a byre was reckoned at only 10.

565 The building of a byre was stressed because a man who
563 built a homestead in a village had clearly the intention of
remaining there and the community gained by an addition
to its herd. Such a man seems to have been reckoned equal
to an aristocrat in all parts of Nuerland, except among the

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Jikany where, I was told, a Dinka could never lose his inferior status, which was transmitted to his descendants. The acceptance of a permanent member of a community as equal to an aristocrat conforms to the general tendency among the Nuer for descent to be subordinated to community, a tendency which we shall constantly stress.

We again emphasize the point to which we drew attention in the section on law, that the degree of responsibility acknowledged for a tort, the chances of compensation being offered for it, and the amount of compensation paid, depend on the relations of the persons concerned in social structure. Thus, if a man kills an unadopted Dinka of his own household, who was not born in Nuerland, there is no redress, but his household will protect their Dinka against outsiders and will avenge his death at their hands. Dol, who is himself of Dinka descent, told me: 'If you curse a Dinka of your household, well, you curse him, that is all. If he is angry you tell him that you will kill him and that nothing will happen. You will merely clean your spear on the ground and hang it up. But if another man curses a Dinka of your household you fight him, for the Dinka is your brother. You ask the man whether he is your Dinka or his Dinka.'

The position of a Dinka in his own domestic circle is thus different from his position in relation to members of a wider group. He is only a *jaang* to the joint family which considers him 'their man.' To people standing outside this joint family he is a member of that *gol*, joint family, and it is not their business to differentiate his status within it. I was told that if an outsider called such a Dinka '*jaang*', the sons of the man who had captured him would resent the insult and might start a fight to wipe it out, for to them he is '*demar*', 'my brother', in relation to outsiders. They ask, 'Who is a *jaang*? Did your father seize him or did ours?' The acceptance of Dinka born in Nuerland as full members of Nuer households, hamlets, and villages is even more pronounced.

The status of Dinka is thus a relative one, and a man may be considered to belong to this category in one situation and not in another. This is obviously the case in social life generally, because ordinarily no one differentiates a man of Dinka descent from a man of Nuer descent, but we believe that it was also the

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case in questions of homicide, since the social situation was composed of the structural relations of the slayer and his kin to the dead man and to other people concerned in the dispute. In our opinion the uncertainty and contradiction which was often evident in the statements of Nuer about assessments of blood-cattle is to be accounted for by relativity of status, it being relative always to the structural distance between persons, and therefore not rigidly definable.

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Likewise *rai* is a very plastic concept. If a Leek man goes to Gaajak country to steal cattle and is killed so compensation would be paid for the homicide. A Leek man travelling through Gaajak country without intent to cause loss to its owners would not wantonly be slain. If the man were visiting kinmen or affines and was killed in a quarrel, his hosts would consider that they were under an obligation to avenge him, though, perhaps, not under a very strong obligation. But a Leek man who has built his homestead in Gaajak country and has married into the village where he resides is a member of that community. If another member of his village kills him, it may be held that he is a *rai* and therefore his death may be paid for with fewer cattle than that of an aristocrat. But if a member of another village kills him, his community are not likely to accept this definition of status, because one does not differentiate between members of one's community on grounds of descent in its relation with other political segments. In political relations community ties are always dominant and determine behaviour.

VIII

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We have observed that within a tribe there are three categories of persons: *diel*, *rai*, and *jaag*. The *diel* are an aristocratic clan, numerically swamped in the tribe by strangers and Dinka, but providing a lineage structure on which the tribal organization is built up. The problem is how strangers and Dinka are attached to the dominant clan in such a way that the clan becomes, through the relations of other members of the tribe to it, the framework of the political system. As Nuer reckon all social ties in a kinship idiom it is clear that only the recognition of mutual bonds of kinship could lead to this result. Such recognition is accorded in several ways. We will start by

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an examination of adoption. A Nuer cannot be adopted into a lineage other than that into which he is born, so that the custom concerns only Dinka.

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We have already described how Nuer scorn Dinka and persistently raid them, but they do not treat those Dinka who are permanent members of their community differently from its Nuer members, and we have seen that persons of Dinka descent form probably at least half the population of most tribes. These Dinka are either children of captives and immigrants who have been brought up as Nuer, or are themselves captives and immigrants who are residing permanently among Nuer. They are 'Jaag-Nath', 'Dinka-Nuer', and, it is said, 'cas Nath', 'they have become Nuer'. As we have explained, once their membership of a community is recognized, in most of Nuerland, their legal status is the same as that of a free-born Nuer, and it is only in relation to ritual and rules of exogamy that attention is drawn to their origin. In structural relations of a political kind they are undifferentiated members of a segment. Although in his domestic and kinship relations a Dinka has not so strong a position as a Nuer, because he has not the same range of kinship links, I have never observed that they suffer any serious disabilities, far less degradation. In answer to my question whether a captured Dinka would not work harder in the kraal than a son of the family, I was told that he was a son and would enjoy the same privileges as the other sons, being given an ox by his father at initiation and, later, bride-cattle for a wife. The only foreigners who suffer serious social inequality are certain small pockets of Dinka and Anuak who have been conquered but not absorbed into Nuer society and culture. Such pockets, like the Balak Dinka and the Anuak on the Sobat river, enjoy neither the privileges of Nuer citizenship nor the freedom of foreigners. Such pockets do not truly constitute part of a Nuer tribe.

Captured Dinka boys are almost invariably incorporated into the lineage of their Nuer captors by the rite of adoption, and they then rank as sons in lineage structure as well as in family relations, and when the daughters of that lineage are married they receive bride-cattle. A Dinka boy is brought up as a child of his captor's household. He is already incorporated into the family and joint family by his acceptance as a member of these

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By adoption Dinka men are grafted on to the lineage of their captors. They trace their ascent up the lineage to its ancestor and they become a new point of its growth. The fusion is complete and final. The spirits of the lineage become their spirits, its ghosts become their ghosts, and its spear-name and honorific name become their symbols. Indeed it is almost impossible without a prolonged stay in a Nuer village or camp to discover who are and who are not of pure Nuer origin. I have for weeks considered men to be true Nuer, whereas they were descended from captured Dinka, for a man whose Dinka grandfather had been adopted into a Nuer lineage regards himself as being just as much a member of the lineage as the man whose grandfather adopted his grandnephew, and he is so regarded by other members of the lineage and by persons not of it. Thus, when a man gives his descent from E through D and C, and another man gives his descent from E through J and K, one naturally assumed that D and J were sons of E. There is no means of knowing that, in fact, J was a captured Dinka who was adopted into the lineage, unless someone volunteers the information—a most unlikely happening in Nuerland. Moreover, it is impolite to ask strangers whether their grandfathers were captured Dinka, and, even if they were of Dinka origin, they would not readily say so. One can, of course, always ask other people; but only those who are members of the same lineage are likely to be fully acquainted with the man's ancestry, and they, in all probability, will not tell one if he is of Dinka origin, for he is their agnatic kinsman as far as outsiders are concerned.

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A very large number of Dinka in all tribes have been incorporated by adoption into Nuer lineages. Since, as mentioned later, adopted Dinka and their descendants can marry into collateral lineages, it would not be accurate to say that they are adopted into clans. Probably most captured Dinka were adopted into Nuer lineages, but there are also many Dinka lineages descended from men who came of their own free will to settle in Nuerland, either to escape famine, largely caused by Nuer raiding, in their own country, to visit captured sisters, or to reoccupy the sites from which Nuer raids had ousted them. Such immigrants were unmolested and were permitted to settle or return to Dinkaland as they might choose. A Dinka who decided to settle

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became some Nuer's *jaang*, his Dinka, and *rande*, his man, and the Nuer would give him an ox and maybe a cow or two when he had given proof of his fidelity and attachment to his new home. I was told that he might even be given a daughter of the house in marriage without payment of bride-wealth if she were blind or lame and no Nuer would contemplate taking her as a bride. Often a widow lives in concubinage with such a Dinka, who thus obtains a 'wife' in the sense of cook, housekeeper, and mate; and even if the children she may bear him do not count as his descendants he can gain their affection. If a Dinka settles at the home of the husband of his sister, the husband may give him a cow or two in acknowledgement of affinity.

There must also have been pockets of the original Dinka occupants of country overrun by the Nuer who submitted and gave up their language and habits in favour of those of the Nuer. At any rate, there are to-day in all tribes many small Dinka lineages, and villages are often called after them. Such lineages are numerically preponderant in the communities where I spent most of my time, Yakwac camp and Nyueny village. The way in which these lineages are woven into the lineage texture of the dominant clan of the tribe is discussed in the next two sections.

Here we summarize points which have already emerged from our description of the position of Dinka in relation to Nuer. (1) *Jaang*, Dinka, has many meanings: any foreigners whom the Nuer habitually raid; Dinka living in Dinkaland and raided by Nuer; Dinka of unabsorbed pockets in Nuerland or on its confines; recent Dinka immigrants; certain clans which are said to be Dinka in origin, e.g. the GAATGANKIIR; members of small Dinka lineages which are Nuer in every character except in origin; descendants of adopted Dinka; adopted Dinka. One can only judge the meaning Nuer attach to the word by its context and the tone in which it is spoken. (2) It is only those Dinka who are regarded as members of a Nuer tribe who concern our present discussion. Their status is relative to the social situation in which the question of status arises, and cannot be rigidly defined. (3) Nuer conquest has not led to a class or symbiotic system, but, by the custom of adoption, has absorbed the conquered Dinka into its kinship system, and through

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the kinship system has admitted them into its political structure on a basis of equality.

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A large number of Dinka who were not captured as children are not adopted into Nuer lineages, and Nuer strangers cannot be adopted into lineages of the dominant clan or into any other Nuer lineages. Nevertheless, members of all local communities, whilst they see themselves as distinct segments in relation to other local segments, express their relations to one another in terms of kinship. This is brought about by intermarriage.

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We mention the rules of exogamy as briefly as possible and only in so far as they have a direct bearing on the political system. Nuer generally marry within their tribe, though they sometimes marry women of other tribes, especially if they live near the border. Sometimes, also, a man marries in one tribe and then, taking his wife and family with him, goes to live in another tribe. In recent times there have been occasional marriages with the Ngok, and possibly with other Dinka tribes. There are no exogamous rules based on locality. They are determined by lineage and kinship values. A man may not marry into his clan and, *a fortiori*, into his lineage. In most clans a man may marry into his mother's clan, but not into her maximal lineage, though this rule is less exact. A man may not marry any woman to whom he is in any way closely related. A Dinka adopted into a lineage may not marry into that lineage, but may marry into collateral lineages of the same clan.

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The rules of exogamy have been cursorily described. Nevertheless we consider them important, for the values which chiefly regulate behaviour between one person and another in Nuer society are kinship values. Nuer rules of exogamy break down the exclusiveness of agnatic groups by compelling their members to marry outside them, and thereby to create new kinship ties. As the rules also forbid marriage between near cognates, a small local community like a village rapidly becomes a network of kinship ties and its members are compelled to find mates outside it. Any stranger who enters the village, if he is not already related to most of its members, rapidly enters into affinal relations with them and his children become their kinsmen. Consequently the population of a Nuer village or cattle camp

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613 innumerable cognatic ties, so that however many lineages there
621 may be in a local community their members are all related to
one another by some kind of cognation and affinity. A lineage
remains an exclusive agnatic group only in ritual situations. In
other situations it is merged in the community, and cognation
(*mar*) takes the place of lineage agnation (*buth*) as the value
through which people living together express their relations to
one another. The agnatic structure of the dominant lineage is
not stressed in ordinary social relations, but only on a political
plane where relations between territorial segments are con-
cerned, for the assimilation of territorial segments to segments
of the dominant lineage means that the interrelations of the
one are expressed in terms of the other.

In every small tribal segment there is a lineage of the dominant
clan of the tribe associated with it, and the members of the
segment are joined to this lineage by adoption, cognatic kinship,
or kinship fictions, in such a way that one may speak of them
as an accretion around a lineage nucleus. As these different
nuclei are lineages of the same clan, or, as we shall see in the
next section, assimilated to it, the structure of the dominant
clan is to the political system like the anatomical structure to
the system of an organism.

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000 We have seen how Dinka and strangers are linked to the
framework of the dominant clan by adoption and cognation
and how these links form an embracing kinship system which
provides the non-political texture of the political system. Kin-
ship values are the strongest sentiments and norms in Nuer
society and all social interrelations tend to be expressed in a
kinship idiom. Adoption and the assimilation of cognatic to
agnatic ties are two ways in which community relations are
translated into kinship relations: in which living together forces
residential relations into a kinship pattern. A third way is by
mythological creation of kinship fictions, and this way is appro-
priate to relations between dominant lineages and stranger and
Dinka groups, living with them in the same tribal segments,
which are too large and occupy too distinct a territory for
incorporation by either of the other two methods. It is the way

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608 in which large pockets of strangers and Dinka are incorporated
609 into the conceptual scheme of a tribe.

563 It has frequently been emphasized that political relations
773 are often expressed in speech as lineage relations, in the sense that one talks of a local community as though it were a lineage, thereby assimilating to a dominant lineage those who share the same community life with it; and that lineage relations are often expressed as political relations, in the sense that one talks of a lineage as though it were identical with the local community in which it is only a nucleus, thereby depriving the lineage of its unique agnatic status and giving it a general residential value. In conformity with this way of describing community interrelations, they are personified in myths and derived from personal relationships of a kinship kind.

613 We do not propose to give a collection of Nuer myths. We
773 have so far only mentioned one myth explaining group inter-
173 relations: that which tells why the Nuer raid the Dinka. There are very few myths of this general kind. Most relate to clans and lineages in their corporate territorialized form and explain their association with one another as tribes and tribal segments, particularly the relations between dominant lineages and large stranger lineages living with them. We are not always able to explain mythological relations by the present-day political system, but this can often be done, and where we fail to do it we attribute our inability to ignorance, especially to ignorance of tribal history.

The two large Lou tribal sections, the Jimac and the JaaJoah which appear on the map on p. 56, but not on the clan tree of the JINACA, the dominant clan of the tribe, on p. 196, are divisions called after the JIMAC and JAAJOAH lineages. They are said to be *gaat nyiet*, children of daughters of the founder of the JINACA clan, and there is a myth accounting for this maternal link. Denac was said to have had, according to the Lou story, four sons, named Yin, Dak, Bal, and Bany, by one wife, and Nyang and two nameless brothers by a second wife. These wives are sometimes said to have been called Nyagun and Nyamor and the two primary sections of the tribe, Gun and Mor, to be named after them. Nyang's two brothers were eaten by an ogre. When, afterwards, the sons of Denac went fishing, the four sons of one mother went by themselves and Nyang by himself, for he would not accompany his half-

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621 father's brother, *gatgwanlen*, father's brother's son, *wac*, father's
 613 sister, and so on.
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613 Lineages are articulated as groups of agnatic kin at a different,
 602 usually ritual, level of the social life, and they are articulated as
 conglomerates, fused with other elements, at the political level.
 Kinship ties belong to another order of social relations, relations
 between persons and not between groups. The members of a
 lineage group are socially undifferentiated as such in the inter-
 lineage structure because it is a structural relationship between
 groups. In the kinship system they are socially differentiated by
 category and degree of relationship—this being an essential
 characteristic of the system—because the kinship system is a
 system of relationships between persons.

621 As we have seen, members of a Nuer community are all *mar*,
 602 kin (including affines in this term), to one another. Whoever is
 kith must also be kin. Common membership of a village or camp
 does not in itself provide a man with a secure basis for his personal
 relations with its other members. That is provided chiefly by the
 kinship system by which a kinship tie established with any person
 in the village or camp gives a man a kinship status of some kind
 with every other person in the village or camp—with all his neigh-
 bours. Consequently a local community consists of a great number
 of cross-strands which compose an intricate network of kinship ties.

The relationships which enter into any particular composition
 are not the same as those of another, and they change from year
 to year and from season to season inasmuch as Nuer frequently
 change their place of residence. Therefore a cluster of kin of this
 kind does not constitute a specific kinship group. When it is
 thought of by Nuer as a unit it is not as a kinship group but as a
 residential group by association with a lineage or site. Its mem-
 bers are *jicieng* so-and-so, the people of a community of a certain
 lineage, or *ji* such-and-such, the people of a certain place. To any
 member of the community the rest are '*jiciengda*', 'the people of
 my home'. '*Jimarida*', 'my kin', has quite a different connotation:
 it is a set of personal relationships to him and includes men and
 women who do not belong to the cluster at all.

597 The absorption of Dinka into these communities of kin on so
 563 considerable a scale has been significant. As I have pointed out in
 613 *The Nuer*, assimilation of conquered Dinka tribes and tribal sec-
 tions has not, for various reasons, resulted in a class or caste, or in

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597 any other rigid hierarchical structure. It has been brought about
 563 by their incorporation into Nuer lineages by adoption and by
 613 their assimilation to them through intermarriage. When Dinka
 are adopted into a lineage, absorption into Nuer society presents
 no great difficulty. Their Dinka origin is remembered by members
 of the lineage of their adoption, at any rate for some generations,
 but after one or two generations it may not be known to outsiders;
 and I suppose that in course of time it may be forgotten within the
 lineage itself. They are part of the lineage, have the same status as
 its other members, and are points of growth in the branch equal
 to men born into it. But when Dinka are not adopted into a Nuer
 lineage absorption is achieved with greater difficulty and by cir-
 cuitous means. If we examine closely the history of those persons
 in the genealogies I have recorded who have attached themselves
 permanently to an affinal or maternal family and through it to a
 minimal lineage, and if we trace also the histories of those persons
 who through such an attachment in the past now trace their
 descent from the lineage through a female, we shall find that in
 a very great number, I venture to say in the vast majority, of cases
 they are Dinka. This is a development which it is easy to under-
 stand because captured Dinka or Dinka immigrants into Nuer-
 land have lost their status in their own kinship and lineage
 systems, and if they are not adopted into Nuer lineages they can
 only acquire status in Nuer society through affinal relationships;
 and their children, having no kin on the father's side, identify
 themselves with the mother's kin and, having no lineage on the
 father's side, seek affiliation to the mother's lineage. It is true that
 6021 we find strangers of Nuer clans as members of clusters of kin
 614 around a lineage core of the dominant clan of the tribe, but where
 the attachment is permanent these strangers are, in my experi-
 ence, generally persons of those Nuer clans which have no tribal
 territory of their own—no *wec*, local community, as Nuer say—
 like the Jimem, Jikul, and Kiek clans. These clans have, more-
 over, in some cases mythological beginnings placing them outside
 the main family of Nuer clans and suggesting foreign origin.
 Assimilation in such cases can never be so complete as in the case
 of Dinka, because members of Nuer clans have their own clan
 symbols and their own *buth* relationships which attach them to
 the lineages of their birth.

000 Another factor which has certainly had some influence in

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582 The adoption of a Dinka boy into a Nuer minimal lineage pre-
 727 vents him from marrying into that lineage and he would normally
 563 not be allowed to marry into a collateral minimal lineage of the
 same minor lineage, though such marriages sometimes take place,
 as is evident in the genealogy of Yakwac cattle camp opposite page
 19. Some of my informants were of the opinion that he ought not to
 marry into the clan at all. If he is permitted to do so, to avoid the
 appearance of a breach of exogamy, the spear-name *mut jangemo*,
 spear of this Dinka, is called out in the invocation of the ghosts on
 the day of his wedding in addition to the clan spear-name which
 became his by adoption. By this means the spear-names of the
 bride and bridegroom, which are the same, are distinguished. Also
 when, as it sometimes happens, a captured Dinka boy is not
 adopted into his captor's lineage, men of this lineage cannot marry
 his daughter because some of the cattle of her bridewealth are due
 to them, since the Dinka will have married with their cattle. The
 sons of the captor count as paternal uncles in the distribution of
 her bridewealth, and other members of the lineage may demand
 gifts from the bridegroom's people.

Captured Dinka girls are not adopted into Nuer lineages and
 their captors can marry them, though they rarely do so. If the
 captor of a girl intends to marry her or to let one of his sons marry
 her he passes a spear-shaft between her legs, and then hands her
 over to another man to bring up outside his village, 'because if she
 were to remain in his homestead she would become his daughter'.
 Generally a captured girl is brought up a member of her captor's
 household and is regarded as his daughter. He rubs ashes on the
 back of a sheep and tells his ancestral ghosts that the girl is 'our
 daughter and our sister'. Nuer say: 'Thus she is taken into the
 family (*gol*) and becomes a member of the family.' They also say:
 'She will become our daughter and we will receive her bridewealth-
 cattle.' The cattle of her bridewealth give her kinship with the
 persons among whom it is distributed, as does also her right to re-
 ceive in return the cows of the paternal aunt on the marriage of the
 daughters of the sons of her captor and foster-father. Marriage is
 therefore forbidden between her descendants and the descendants
 of these kinsmen in virtue of bridewealth for several generations.
 She herself can be married to a clansman of her foster-father so
 long as her husband does not belong to his minimal lineage, which
 is to say so long as those who pay her bridewealth cannot also

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS AND INCEST

claim part of it, for those who can claim part of a girl's bride-wealth are kin to her. Nuer state these rules in terms of cattle.

A man may not take his wife's sister or any near kinswoman of his wife as a second wife. A man may be on familiar terms with his wife's sister, but sexual relations with her are incestuous and it is only permissible for him to marry her if his wife has died without having borne children. When I argued that there was no kinship between a man and his wife's sister, Nuer said that this was not true. 'What about the child?' they asked. They regard a man and his wife's sister as related through the child of the wife—for a woman is only fully married when she has a child and comes to live with her husband's people as their 'kinswoman', as they say, since her child is their child. Her sister is therefore also a kind of kinswoman, seeing that she is also the mother of their child. Your wife's sister being your child's maternal aunt is your sister (as we say, sister-in-law). Nuer also define this relationship in terms of cattle. When your daughter is married her mother's sister receives a cow of her bridewealth, and Nuer hold that she cannot both receive this cow and be your wife at the same time, especially as the cow is in some degree regarded as part of the bridewealth still owing from your marriage to your wife. Also, when your wife's sister's daughter marries, your wife will receive a cow and Nuer feel that there is something wrong about this cow coming to her if her sister is also her co-wife. In certain circumstances a woman may claim cattle on her sister's marriage, and in this case the man who pays the cattle would also be the receiver of them were a man to marry his wife's sister—a situation the Nuer regard as impossible. Hence Nuer say that a man may not marry his wife's sister either 'on account of her (the wife's) children' or 'on account of the cattle', which are different ways of saying that he cannot marry his child's maternal aunt. There is a further reason which would prevent a man from marrying his wife's sister while his wife is living, for, as will be explained later, a man may not have sexual relations with two closely related women at the same time. It follows that two brothers ought not to marry sisters or close cousins: 'That would be bad because if your brother died you could not take his wife.'

A man may not marry the daughter of an age-mate, a member of his age-set, 'because she is his daughter'. The blood age-mates have shed together into the ground at their initiation gives them a

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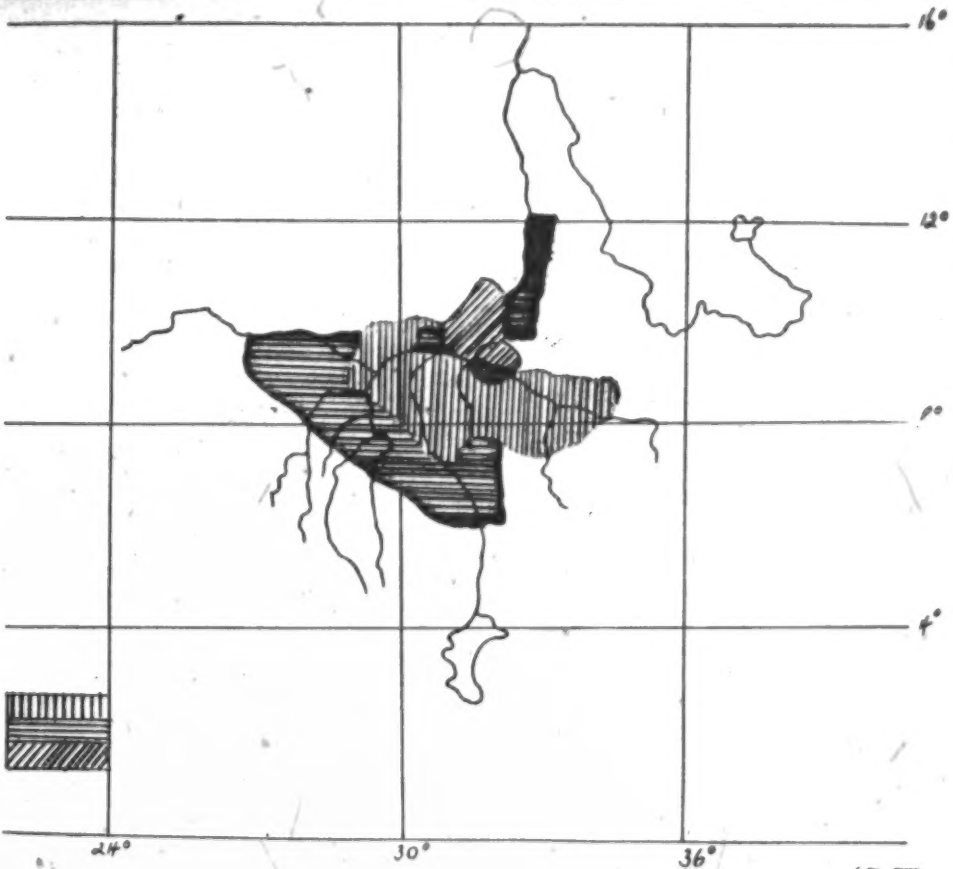
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12: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933

FJ22 Nuer FJ22

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

PLATE I.



SKETCH MAP NO. I.

NUER GREEN.

DINKA RED.

SHILLUK BLUE.

(Other Members of the
Shilluk-speaking group
are not marked).

[Facing P. 6]

THE NUER, TRIBE AND CLAN (SECTIONS I-IV)

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countries. There is some doubt about the exact organisation of blood-cattle (*cut*) in old times. This uncertainty is partly accounted for by the undoubted elasticity of assessment, for we should make a mistake in supposing that the number of cattle paid over in compensation for homicide was invariably the same or that there was a rigid definition of social status. It is also partly accounted for by the fact that the *cut* was not identical in every Nuer tribe. The evidence seems to show that the greatest differentiation in assessment of blood-cattle between different classes in the community was to be found on the periphery of Nuer culture, among the Eastern Jekany, where the greatest absorption of foreigners has taken place. There I was given the following table of assessment for a late (probably post-European) period in their history:—

Gat dila Jikany (a member of the GAT GAN KIIR clan),
15 cows and 5 bullocks (20).

Gat Geeka (a member of any pure Nuer clan),
12 cows and 5 bullocks (17).

Jaang dila (a Dinka who has permanently settled in Nuer country and has attached himself to a Nuer social group),
11 cows and 5 bullocks (16).

Jaang (a Dinka, pure and simple, who has not yet become a permanent member of Nuer society),
8 cows and 2 bullocks (10).

In the old days it appears that 40 cattle was the regular payment for homicide in the case of a member of the dominant clan in Jikany countries, and for this pre-European period I was given the following table:—

GAT GAN KIIR ... 40 cattle.

Gat Geeka ... 40 cattle.

Jaang bushni (an adopted Dinka) 20 cattle.

Jaang (Dinka—unadopted) ... 6 cattle.

There is one main discrepancy between the first and second tables. In the second a pure Nuer of any clan is classed as the same for purposes of blood-cattle as a member of the GAT GAN KIIR clan, while in the first he is classed lower. I was never able to make up my mind which of these two estimates—I have been given others which differ slightly from both—was the correct one since, while members of the GAT GAN KIIR clan in Jikany country assured me that payment for killing a member of any other Nuer clan in their country was less than for killing a member of their

554 own clan, members of these other clans, who here count as *ru* or strangers,
 614 assured me that payments in both cases were equal. Assurances on both
 619 sides were clearly coloured by recent practice which has been based on
 682 government rulings at different times and by what regulations they hoped
 563 the Government would institute in the future. On the whole I consider
 that there was probably a differentiation between members of the
 dominant clan and members of other clans, but that the differentiation
 was not rigid and depended upon the special circumstances of each case,
 when length of residence in the country, marriage alliances with members
 of the dominant clan, and so on, were taken into consideration.

Quite definitely, however, there was a clear difference made between
 Nuer and Dinka in the assessment of blood-cattle compensation. This
 difference is found all over Nuer country, though there seems to have been
 difference of opinion in different parts of Nuerland about what constitutes
 a Dinka for purposes of homicide payments. Among the Lou the practice
 was to class members of the dominant clan, the JINACA, and members of
 the other Nuer clans together and make 40 cattle (32 cows and 8 bullocks)
 the regular payment for both. The son of a Dinka born in Lou country
 was considered to have become a Nuer (*caa Nath*) and his death was also
 compensated for by 40 cattle; but a captured Dinka or visiting Dinka or
 a Dinka who had taken up his abode in the country was reckoned as a
Jaang and was compensated by only 6 cattle (4 cows and 2 bullocks).
 A Dinka even when given *buth* appears to have counted as *Jaang* and not
 as *Nath*, but his children were reckoned as Nuer for homicide purposes.
 Two informants told me that in Jagei country on the west bank of the
 Nile compensation for homicide was reckoned as follows:—

Gat dila (member of the dominant clan in the tribe),

34 cows and 6 bullocks (40).

Rul who has built his cattle-byre,

34 cows and 6 bullocks (40).

Rul and *Jaang* who have not built their cattle-byre,

6 cows and 4 bullocks (10).

The point of stressing the building of a cattle-byre was that a man who built
 one, whether a Nuer stranger or a Dinka, had obviously come to stay and
 became a permanent member of your social group and a member of your
 village. He became "your man" (*randu*), who owed you a kind of
 allegiance and who relied on your protection. Hence he is assessed on

THE NUER, TRIBE AND CLAN (SECTIONS I-IV)

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the same footing as an ordinary resident born into the community. On the other hand I was told by some Eastern Jekany Nuer at Nasser that once a Dinka always a Dinka was the rule, and that the children and grandchildren of Dinkas never counted as equal to pure Nuer in blood-cattle assessment. I regard this statement, however, as being, in all probability, too rigidly formulated. 554 614 619 682 563

The second element in a Nuer village are the *rul*. A *rul* is a stranger, one who is not a member of the *diel*, one who has no place in the lineage of the dominant clan. Such people may be more numerous than the clan itself but they have not the same hereditary status in the tribe. Sometimes their lineages compose powerful tribal sections and in these sections they form a dominant lineage of their own. They are linked by sociological ties, often mythological in form, to the *diel* of the tribe. Thus the powerful sections of Reng and Kōng of the Gaajak tribe are not *diel* but *rul*. The Reng section is united to the genealogy of Kir by the supposition that Reng the founder of some of its lineages (COL and DHILLEAK) was equivalent to *gai manlen* (mother's sister's son) to Kir, his mother being a sister to the Ngok Dinka woman who nursed Kir and brought him up, while the founder of another lineage of this section, the Kōng, was a man called Tik, who is described in the Kir myths as having given him supernatural assistance and saved his life from avengers. The JEMAC and JAAJOAH clans, which give their names to two secondary tribal sections¹ of the Lou tribe, are not of the dominant Lou clan, the JINACA, but are nuclei of two large segments which, together with the Gaaliek section, comprise the Mor moiety. Here again there is a myth which unites them to the *diel* of the tribe. Denac (Nac) is said to have had four sons, Yin, Dak, Bal and Bany, by one wife, and Nyaang and two brothers, who are nameless, by another wife. Nyaang's two brothers were killed by a strange monster, which figures often in Nuer mythology, and is known as a *let*. When the sons of Denac went fishing the four full brothers went on their own and Nyaang by himself, for he would not accompany his brothers. Consequently when he caught a fish someone would come and steal it from him as he was all by himself. When he came home he would not sit on the ground facing his father as the other sons did but sat apart by himself with his back to his father and gazing in the opposite direction. When his father asked him what was the matter with him, he replied that he was thinking of his two 554 614 619 173 773

¹ In the Jemac section are included the important JAAGWETH lineage who are supposed to be distantly related to the JEMAC.

644 establish himself and his near kin as the social leaders of the locality in
 624 which they live. Also I believe that the common view expressed by
 621 Europeans that the Nuer leopard-chiefs were once powerful political
 chiefs whose power has lately been undermined by Arab influence and the
 development of lines of influential prophets and that their power must
 be re-established is based on a one-sided appreciation of the facts (see
 section No. VII).

621 We have seen that two elements in a Nuer village are the *dial wec*
 563 and the *rul wec*. The third element in a Nuer village is the Dinka *jaang*
 597 *wec* and this falls into two types, captured Dinka and Dinka who have
 727 come to live among the Nuer of their own free will. Boys and girls
 captured in war—for adults are usually put to the spear, only very small
 boys and unmarried maidens being carried off to Nuerland—are brought
 up as children of their captor's household and treated as his own sons
 and daughters. Two of my informants, Jok and Tutrial, gave me a very
 clear summary of the position of a captured Dinka. Their captor in no
 way distinguishes them and his own sons and daughters, and neither
 he nor any of his family would refer to them as *Jaang* (Dinka), which is a
 term of deep contempt and insult. They do precisely no more and no
 less work than any other member of the household and are in no manner
 degraded or humiliated. In answer to my questions whether a captured
 Dinka would not be expected to do more hoeing or tending of the cattle
 than children of the family, my informant's reply was decisively clear
 "You ask me whether he would not work harder than the sons, well, is he
 not a son?"

When I asked Tutrial whether you would not address your captive
 as "Jaang," he replied with some impatience at my denseness "Are you
 likely to do such a thing? Now listen, be quiet and I will tell you." When
 you marry a woman with cattle and sleep in the same hut with her does
 anyone come and ask you why you sleep so late in the day? Now when
 you go out to capture a Dinka your foot is pierced by thorns—you have
 got to be stalwart for that; you are ravished by hunger—you have got
 to be stalwart for that; you have spears thrown at you—you have got
 to be stalwart for that too; now I ask you when you have got your Dinka
 are you likely to call him a *Jaang*? Did you not win him because you
 were strong?"

Were a man of another village or of a different kin to call him by the title of *Jaang* it would be a serious matter because the sons of the man who had captured him would resent the remark. To them he is *demar*, my brother, and they will quarrel with anyone who calls him *Jaang* and there may be bloodshed. They will ask "Who is a *Jaang*? Did your father seize him or did ours?"

Just as a captured Dinka suffers from few disabilities owing to his birth so he enjoys most of the privileges of a free-born Nuer. The man who has adopted him will give him cattle with which to marry a wife, and he will be thus enabled to marry according to the same rules of priority as if he were a real son. If he is older than a real son of the family he will marry before him. A and B are real sons of X, and C is an adopted Dinka whose age comes in between the ages of A and B. The order of marriage will be A, C, B. When A and B's daughters are married, C, the Dinka, will receive the cattle of a *gwanlen* (paternal uncle) just as if he were an ordinary brother to A and B. [641]

Dinka who have been taken in war and brought up by a Nuer family will eventually be formally adopted and given *buth* (ca *lath buthni*, he is given relationship). One youth, Wan, told me that the man who brought up a captured Dinka would give him *buth* (relationship), but two other informants, Tutrial and Jok, disputed this statement, saying "He will not do so because the Dinka is his son, so why should he?" The son of this man, or more likely his brother's son (*gat gwanlen*) will, however, invite his Dinka boy, when grown-up and initiated into manhood, to come and tether a bullock in his kraal and kill it. The bullock is first of all invoked by the owner of the kraal and he addresses the spirits of his clan and tells them that this man is now a member of his family. This ceremony is regarded as being very much the affair of the spirits who guard your clan and your own special lineage. It is your duty to let them know if you are adopting a new member into your kin because all members of your kin are under their care. Another informant said that the bullock is killed at the entrance to the sponsor's byre and that the Dinka's body is smeared with the undigested contents of its stomach while the spirits of the clan are asked to accept him into it. After this ceremony the Dinka becomes a member of your lineage, he becomes a relation of yours (*gwan buthni ka ji*) and the spirits of your lineage will go to him and be his spirits also. After the bullock has been invoked it

563 is sacrificed and cut up and the son of the house and his Dinka "brother"
 597 each take half the skin and the *juak*, and the Dinka takes the neck. On
 727 all future occasions when animals are killed by his relative by adoption he
 will be able to claim his share of the meat on the grounds of relationship
 (see Section No. VI). It seems that, whilst before this ceremony of being
 [43] given relationship he was treated in all respects as a member of the family,
 he did not count as a member of the lineage, at any rate for purposes of
 division of meat, which goes only to relatives of the owner. He will now
 regard himself as a "member of the clan" of his "father," *Caa Juak*
tem, they have cut through the scrotum, he is now a member of their clan.

563 We may, at any rate for the moment, speak of these captured Dinka
 597 who go through a ceremony of adoption into the lineage of their captor
 727 as becoming affiliated to Nuer clans in the framework of which they trace
 641 their descent and for which they receive the various ritual emblems which
 mark a clansman. It is almost impossible, without a prolonged stay in
 a Nuer cattle-camp, to discover who are and who are not of pure Nuer
 origin. I have for weeks considered a man to be of pure descent, that is
 to say by direct filiation of blood, when in reality he comes from the stock
 of a captured Dinka. Such a man who had a Dinka grandfather who
 was adopted into a Nuer lineage regards himself as being just as much a
 member of the lineage as the grandson of the man who gave his
 grandfather *buth* and is so regarded by other members of his lineage
 and by everybody else. Thus when a man gives you his genealogy as A,
 son of B, son of C, son of D, son of E, and another man gives you his
 genealogy as X, son of Y, son of Z, son of Q, son of E, you naturally
 imagine that D and Q were two sons of E and that they have founded
 separate lines of descent, one of which has produced A and the other of
 which has produced X. There is no means of knowing that in point of fact
 Q was a Dinka captured by E and given *buth* by his son D unless someone
 tells you the true state of affairs as a piece of information which he thinks
 will be of interest to you, a most unlikely happening in Nuerland.
 Moreover, you cannot very well go about asking people whether their
 grandfathers were captured Dinka and if you did they would be very
 unlikely to tell you. You can, of course, always ask other people but
 the only people who are likely to be fully acquainted with a man's
 ancestry are members of the same lineage and they in all probability
 will not tell you. The consequences of wholesale adoption of Dinka into

Nuer lineages belongs more to a study of kinship than to the plan of the present paper. Its importance may be gauged by the fact that probably some 75 per cent. of the Lou tribe are of Dinka descent, belonging either to families sprung from a man who has been *lath buthni*, given relationship, in a Nuer lineage, or to the families which have retained their full status as independent Dinka lineages. 563
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This is the second type of Dinka domiciled among the Nuer to whom I made reference earlier. In the old days, and still to-day, Dinka frequently came to live among Nuer of their own accord and were always well received and allowed to settle and become members of the village community. There are a number of reasons which may have influenced a Dinka in taking this step. Along the Nuer-Dinka border intermarriage was frequent and Dinka would come to live near their married sisters and perhaps settle there and bring up a family who are Nuer in everything but descent. In the same way if a Nuer captured a Dinka girl and brought her up and gave her in marriage he might expect a visit from her brother, who would perhaps settle in his sister's village, in which case his brother-in-law would certainly give him one or two cows to start a herd. Many Dinka families came into Lou country to escape hunger and the other attendant miseries to which they had been reduced by constant Nuer raiding which left them cattleless.¹ Moreover there must have been a very large element of the original Dinka owners of country to the east of the Nile absorbed into the social system of their Nuer conquerors. They cannot all have been dispersed, and the probability is that what happened during the Nuer invasions was similar to what was happening along the Nuer-Dinka border right up to the present day when raiding and intermarriage occupied long lulls between waves of fresh invasion. [648]

¹ I was told that it sometimes happened that a poor Dinka would come and live with a rich Nuer and would help to herd his cattle and cultivate his gardens so that the Nuer, being gratified, would give him a blind or lame daughter whom no one wanted to marry. This is apparently considered a proper marriage, since the Dinka presents his wife with a skirt (*yet*). My informants said that, of course, no one would give a nice girl to a Dinka in this way.

(To be continued.)